assault on the land. Of the land alienated in Negros, which represents either open or agricultural land, only 80 per cent is now cultivated. The remainder of this land is idle, in pasture, or covered with various grasses, principally the coarse cogons (Imperata exaltata) or the wild cane (Saccharum spontaneum), the latter called tigbao in the Visayas and talahib in Tagalog.

The commercial forests of Negros represent some of the best timber lands in the Philippines (See Plate IX.)[2] Covering about 38 per cent of the island, nearly 70 per cent of the commercial forests are of the Dipterocarpaceae family, large trees usually more than 100 feet in height.[32]

The Insular Lumber Company located at Fabrica (Negros Occidental) with a daily output of 125,000 board-feet is the world's largest hardwood lumber mill. Other lumber mills are located at Victorias, Himamaylan, Cauayan, San Carlos, Tanjay and Tolong.[33] These mills

[32] Florencio Tamesis and Luis Aguilar, Important Commercial Timbers of the Philippines: Their Properties and Uses. Popular Bulletin No. 32. Manila, Department of Agriculture and Natural Resources, Bureau of Printing, 1951, p.15. While there are more than 3,000 arborescent species in the Philippines, 75 per cent of the standing timber belongs to the lauan family (Dipterocarpaceae).

[33] M. M. Alicante and others, Soil Survey of Negros Occidental Province, Philippines. Soil Report No. 14. Manila, Department of Agriculture and Natural Resources, Bureau of Printing, 1951, p.13.

[See p.59, cat. 137 --ANALYST]

have a daily output ranging from 20,000 to several thousand board-feet daily. There were six saw mills in Tolong in 1951; recently a plywood factory and another large saw mill (the latter owned by the American Rubber Company) have been established in this municipality. Most saw mills in Tolong are located in the mountains; the cut timber is hauled out by trucks during the dry season. 313

The trees most frequently cut for these mills are white lauan (Pentacme contorta Merr. & Rolfe), red lauan (Shorea negrosensis Foxw.) and tangile (Shorea polysperma Merr.) The latter two trees are known as Philippine red mahoganies in the timber trade, although they are not true mahoganies.[34] The lumber cut in Tolong is trucked to Dumaguete or shipped in small boats to Cebu, Bacolod and Iloilo. Just prior to my visit to Tolong one boat-load of lumber had been sent to Japan. While Negros has abundant timber resources, the barriofolk use only small quantities in building their houses. Inadequate development of Negros' timber resources, high prices, and poor transportation facilities are a few reasons why so little lumber is used by the rural people. [433]

Brush, shrubs, and immature forest growth compose the secondary forest areas of Negros, resulting from the destruction of the primary or tropical rain forest by caingin or lumbering activities. The secondary forests are, for the most part, in the municipalities of Cadiz, 137

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[34] Tamesis and Aguilar, op. cit., pp. 45, 47, and 49.

$275 in Ragay Gulf. These figures illustrate the inflation that has occurred in the Philippines since 1938.

Table XXXIV, at the end of this chapter, lists the local, English and scientific names (whenever possible) of fish caught in Siaton bonsods; Table XXXV gives the frequency of their catch and class accorded them by people living in both the barrio and Siaton poblacion.[1]

Construction of the Fish Corral

Construction of bonsods in Siaton begins in late October or early November. Bonsods are built, for the most part, between Malabuhan and Salag Point; few bonsods are erected west of Salag Point because the coral sea floor makes it almost impossible to embed the posts. (See Plates XLIV and XLV.) In the past the long bamboos needed to build a bonsod could be cut in Caticugan and other barrios near the sea. Today bamboo is cut in Lamtoc, Balanan, and Casala-an and floated as rafts down the river since nearby bamboo resources have been exhausted. Some fish corral owners advance to the cutters in the barrios part of the money to be paid for the bamboo with full payment made on delivery. Long thick poles usually cost about twenty cents each; in Tanjay similar bamboos are reported to bring twice this amount.

Most of the rattan obtained to build the bonsods comes from Tolong municipality. The people said that once rattan grew abundantly in the hills near Caticugan;

[1] [See pp. 640-645 -- Analyst]

[2] [See pp. 586A and B, cat. 116 -- Analyst]

tugging the boat up a steep hill. The boat measured 63 feet in length and the widest part of the hull exceeded 3 feet.[72] For three days the group had been struggling to get the parao to the river from their destination. Each man received one dollar a day for both their labor and carabao.

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Boat Construction

When the contractor has made all necessary arrangements the workers select a tree for the boat's hull. Trees used most frequently to make boats in Mangoto are magsinolog (white lauan), balangobang and lanitga (both species of red lauan). These woods are preferred by boat-builders for their lightness and durability.[73] In the past bay-ang trees were cut but today so few exist that they are not used. In the "old days," according to Siaton informants, many lanitga trees grew near Barrio Cabangahan

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[72] The bottom of the boat was 10 inches thick; the solid stern, where the motor was to be mounted, was 6 feet long.

[73] Magsinolog is probably Shorea eximia (Miquel) Scheffer, that is widely distributed in the Philippines. Reyes, op. cit., pp. 313-5. Reyes states S. eximia is sold in the local market as white lauan or almon "...and is an excellent wood for boat planking..." Lanitga is possibly Toona calantas Merrill and Rolfe, Reyes, op. cit., pp. 183-184. T. calantas is commonly known as kalantas but is called lanipga in Samar, Leyte and Cebu and grows in Negros; Reyes reports T. calantas is used to make boats. Balangobang is not listed by Reyes but was said to be a species of red lauan by the forestry officials in Tanjay. White and red lauan, according to Tamesis and Aguilar, is widely used in the Philippines for barato construction. Tamesis and Aguilar, op. cit., p. 64.

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and boats were made from them. Now lanitga trees have almost disappeared. The only boat I saw under construction in Siaton was in Barrio Sumalaring; the hull was being carved from a kapok tree.

People who cut red lauan are required by law to pay a tax of sixty-five cents per cubic meter to the municipality and a twenty-five-cent reforestration fee; for white lauan the charges are thirty cents per cubic meter and a twenty-cent reforestration fee. Wide violation of these forestry regulations occur in Mangoto; as one boatmaker told me: "Well, the forest is wide. Some foresters do not refuse a bribe, maybe as much as five dollars. But we only give them the money if caught."[74]

A method called pandita ("to know") is used by some boat-builders to determine a tree's soundness. Any kind of a vine is obtained, one end bitten off, and then wrapped around a tree. The vine is then taken from the trunk and wrapped around one's head. If the bitten end of the vine ends at one's mouth, ear, nose or eye the tree is rotten and should not be cut. (Possibly the point is that if the vine ends at any of the "holes" of the human head the tree will also have holes inside?) It is obvious, as the workers admitted, that the pandita did not always work. In the locality of Mangoto one sees a

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[74] I talked with two foresters I met in the forest above Mangoto who assured me few boats were being built in the area. When they left I was shown two boats under construction less than 100 yards from where I talked with the foresters.

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number of cut trees that are partially hollowed and then abandoned because the bole was discovered to be rotten.

Some believe it best to cut a tree for a boat when the moon is "a thin slice in the sky," for trees cut then resist attack by wood-borers; I was unable to find out why. Ceremonies prior to cutting a tree are more frequently held in isolated unsettled areas. Some Mangoto workers flatly denied that such ceremonies were practiced; others explained them to me.

Pandita also denotes one ceremony to placate spirits. If a desired tree is believed to harbor spirits, a piece of wood, about 12 feet long, is leaned against its trunk. The cutter invites any spirits who live in this tree to move the piece of wood. If the wood is not removed when the cutter returns the following day, the tree is felled. Often the cutters plead with the spirits: "Please excuse me for cutting this tree. It is not my fault. Mr. --- [the name of the contractor or buyer] wishes to have a boat made and I must eat. So do not blame me for cutting your tree." Such a speech may be made even if the pandita were favorable.

A Siaton buyer witnessed the panditas. They are so similar to the caingin ceremonies previously described, that it is unnecessary to describe them in detail. A food offering is placed on a table at the base of the tree and the spirits are invited to dine. The food is made in sevens and consists of the rice cakes, taka, etc. One informant reported that Don Antoy, the legendary spirit of Pangligiran hill in Siaton, is invited to attend Mangoto panditas.

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assumption of certain skills by local specialists who are paid a cash wage.

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Table XXXVIII[1] illustrates the itemized costs of three different dwellings built in Caticugan in 1951.[10] House C's cost probably comes closer to the cost of the typical Caticugan dwelling than the other two dwellings. This house had two rooms--sala and kitchen--lacked wooden shutters, cement post supports, and little lumber was used. Table XXXIX[1] lists the items and cost of building a poblacion dwelling inhabited by a Siaton municipal official. No bamboo or nipa were used; the cost of the two dwellings illustrate the difference in dwellings between Caticugan barriofolk and Siaton principalia.

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The owner of House C did not hire any carpenters; he held a palihog that cost eight dollars. The work accomplished by palihog assistants could have been done in half a day by two laborers. The palihog, in this case, is an example of how "... the prestige factor inherent in the giving of a feast compensates for the lessened efficiency and the lower return."[11] While precise figures cannot be

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1 [See p. 667 ff, cat. 435 or 342--Analyst]

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[10] Some men of Caticugan make extra money by working for lumber firms in Dumaguete. For example, a father and son in Barrio Caticugan were hired by one firm to cut first-class timber (salay, gisok, sambulawan, yakal, and amoning) in the mountains a day's walk from their home. They were paid eight cents per board foot with an additional two cents per board foot for bringing the lumber from Pinac-an (where they worked a permit issued to the Dumaguete lumber firm) to the poblacion. Another group of four men in Barrio Caticugan worked four days cutting lumber from felled trees in the nearby mountains; they earned a total of twenty-five dollars, or a daily wage of about one dollar and fifty-five cents. These were the only two groups hired to cut timber in Caticugan.

[11] Melville F. Herskovits, Economic Anthropology: A Study in Comparative Economics. New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1952, p. 107.